LIBRARY
World Council of Churches
150, route de Ferney
1211 GENEVA 20

DEPARTMENT ON CHURCH AND SOCIETY
DIVISION OF STUDIES - WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES

project papers

ARCHIVES

On the Common Christian Responsibility Toward Areas of Rapid Social Change

Papers in this series are circulated for private use only and may not be republished

May 19, 1956 No. 4

NOTES ON PROBLEMS OF URBANISATION AND INDUSTRIALISATION IN INDONESIA

by

Dr. H. Baas

This paper by Dr. H. Baas is issued for information and as a basis for discussion on problems confronting Christians in areas of rapid social change.

Dr. Baas is a missionary-sociologist from Holland who is at present working with the Javanese Christian Churches in Central Java.

It is often only possible to develop industry in the towns by making demands, directly or indirectly, on industry in the country.

Thus it is not a question of either improving agriculture in the country or establishing industry in the towns. This is a false antithesis. The aim must be to develop different types and sorts of industrial and business concern to meet the requirements of particular areas. In so doing, it is essential to bear in mind what possibilities the area in question offers as regards capital, raw material and manpower.

Notwithstanding, we have got to face it that urbanisation has come to Indonesia, and that it is taking on more and more serious aspects. One of the attractions is indubitably industry, which has concentrated in the urbanised areas. It is essential that we should devote careful study to the economic causes and consequences of this process.

A. Facts and figures on the extent of urbanisation

The following figures relating to Djakarta and Makassar will give some idea of what urbanisation involves:

1. Djakarta. Total number of inhabitants

	I	II
1930:		533,000
1948:		1,174,252
1951:	1,227,889	1,583,578
1953:	1,265,001	1,845,592

Column I represents what the population of Djakarta would have been assuming an increase only from births (rate employed = 1.5% p.a.)

Column II gives the figures for the increase which has actually taken place.

Accordingly, the difference between the two sets of figures for 1951 and 1953 represents the increase from migration, all increases in population being determined by excess births (birth/death) and excess migration (establishment/departure).

Thus for Djakarta the excess migration figures are:

1948-51: average 118,563 p.a.
1951-53: average 107,075 p.a.

The rate of migration is therefore something like 85% of the total annual increase in the population of Djakarta. The uptown quarters are the most affected; around them are medium-density areas, while the outer belt is comparatively sparsely populated.

2. Survey of population origin

A recent survey of certain densely populated districts of Djakarta covering

9,933 male heads of families (incl. 994 Chinese);
1,767 female heads of families (incl. 134 Chinese);

i.e. 11,700 families, totalling 46,244 individuals, revealed the following breakdown of heads of families according to birthplace:

	Indonesians				Chinese			
	Men		Women		Men		Women	
	fig.	%	fig.	%	fig.	%	fig.	%
Born in Djakarta	2,253	25.2	421	25.7	243	24.4	39	28.9
Born outside Djakarta	6,686	74.8	1,212	74.3	751	75.6	95	71.1
	8,939		1,633		994		134	

3. Origin of migrants

The following table gives the breakdown by origin of male heads of families migrating to Djakarta, subdivided by provinces.

	Town		Country		Total	
	fig.	%	fig.	%	fig.	%
1. Western Java	778	21.6	2,828	78.4	3,606	60.7
2. Central Java	808	45.9	954	54.1	1,762	29.6
3. Eastern Java	94	58.7	66	41.3	160	2.7
4. Northern Sumatra	37)		47)		84)	
5. Central Sumatra	94)		42)		136)	
6. Southern Sumatra	51)		36)		87)	
7. Kalimanten	25)	59.2	7)	40.8	32)	7.0
8. Celebes	24)		30)		54)	
9. Moluccas	5)		-)		5)	
10. Sunda Ketjil	8)		6)		14)	
	1,924	32.4	4,016	67.6	5,940	100.0

Thus 60.7% of the migrants were born in Western Java (practically all Sundanese). 78.4% came from the rural areas. 54.1% and 41.3% respectively of the migrants from Central and Eastern Java were from the rural areas. 7% came from outside Java, and of them 40.8% were from rural areas. These discrepancies are not easy to explain.

In Western Java there are two areas in particular from which the migrants come:

a) the kabupaten around Djakarta (Tangerang, Krawang, Bekasi and Bogor). The reason for this is clear enough: the area is close to Djakarta, and the districts in the north of Bogor Kabupaten are to a great extent economically dependent on the capital;

b) Cheribon.

Migrants from Central Java are mainly from the north (Pekalongan, Tegal) and the south (Purworedjo, Kebumen, Jogjakarta), which are the two most thickly populated parts of Central Java.

Migrants from Sumatra come chiefly from the towns, particularly Padang and Palembang.

4. Time of migration

We may distinguish four separate periods, 1920-41, 1941-45, 1945-49 and 1949 onwards. From 1949 onwards there were no restrictions on movement to or from any part of Java. 49.2% of the migrants arrived after that date; one-third of the inhabitants of Djakarta only arrived during the last four years.

80.4% of all migrants went straight to the capital, the remainder only after settling in one or more other localities first.

30% of all migrants are peasant farmers. No figures are available for movement from the town to the village, though it is also important to study seasonal and habitual migration.

5. Structure of family and age of migrants

Most migrants arrived as adults, already married and accompanied by their families (51% of the men, 29% of the women). This ranks as "normal" migration.

Of the unmarried, 30.7% of the total were men, and 40.7% women.

Of married adults, 10.5% of all the men and 26% of all the women came alone.

6.5% of the men and 2% of the women arrived in the city as children.

The families of the migrants, both male and female, are smaller than those of the asli (indigenous natives) Djakartans. The migrants have in some cases left a number of children and other members of the family behind in the country. The average size of the family is 3.95 persons.

It is worth noting that men born and married outside Djakarta are much fewer in number than the native Djakartans.

6. Relation between livelihood and migration

Djakarta is not specifically a manufacturing city, but in certain kampongs (villages) practically the entire population happens to be employed in industry.

44% of the persons covered by the survey are at present employed in industry and transport (docks, etc.). Before they migrated, 32% were peasant farmers, 31% industrial workers, and the remainder unemployed.

12.3% of the total are now small traders. Before they migrated, 41% were also small traders, 31% peasant farmers, and the remainder unemployed.

Civil servants represent 10.9% of the whole. Before they migrated, 25% were civil servants, 17% peasant farmers, and 11% unemployed.

Conversely, before migration, 29.5% were peasant farmers; of these, 48% became industrial workers, 12.5% small traders, and 17.7% unemployed.

17.7% were industrial workers: of these 77% remained in that category after migration, while a few (4.5%) became civil servants.

11.5% were itinerant traders: of these 43.4% obtained fixed employment, and 27.7% became industrial workers.

The number of unemployed among them went down from approximately 11.2 to 6%.

7. Causes of migration

Economic factors have more to do with migration from the country than with migration from another town.

Migration from another town is often the result of a transfer, with the migrant retaining his old occupation, or else of the desire to provide the children with further education. Many civil servants originally came in from another town.

Insecurity is also a factor, but it should be borne in mind that the tendency is to move to the nearest place which offers security, in order to be able to come back later. Post-war insecurity was certainly not the main factor in the urbanisation of Djakarta.

There is certainly a connection between the density of population in some areas and the number of migrants coming from those areas. In Central Java this is particularly true of Jogjakarta, Kebumen, Solo and Tegal. The shortage of land, and the debts incurred as a result of the agricultural system there, are the principal causes of migration. It is, however, vitally necessary that investigations should be carried out as to area of origin, if a clear picture of the position is to be gained.

B. Makassar

Before the war, Makassar had 87,000 inhabitants; after the war, the figure was approximately 160-180,000. They vary as to origin: there are Chinese, Armenians, Indians, Dutch and as the preponderant group Indonesians. The latter include some 5,000 Toradjas.

These Toradjas live in the southern portion of Central Celebes, and are known as Sadang Toradjas, to distinguish them from the other Toradjas. They live in an area very much intersected by mountains, so that there is little flat ground available for paddy cultivation. The terracing is well up to the standard found in Java. It is not possible, in practice, to extend the area of cultivation, so the financial value of paddy-fields is, on the whole considerable. The position is the more serious if we recall that these Toradjas, unlike their kinsmen in the north, are rapidly increasing in numbers: in 1910 they totalled 110,000, and now the figure is 210,000, i.e. they have doubled in forty years. This swift rise in numbers and the shortage of land are important factors in the drift to the towns.

There are other points of interest in this connection.

The existing paddy-land is unequally divided, with the best soil concentrated in the possession of individuals. In the Tikala district, 20% of all paddy-fields are in the hands of three men, 40% in those of the wealthier families, and 40% in those of smallholders, while 20% of the people are landless. The reason is mainly that when they have no money they pledge their paddy-fields for cash in order to keep their festivals in honour of the dead.

In addition to the paddy-fields, there are dry rice-fields on steep hillsides. Here, however, it is necessary to be on the alert against unwise exploitation of the land. Forest reserves should be started to counter soil exhaustion and deforestation.

Apart from agriculture, there are not many openings. There are no enterprises enabling the people to work for a wage. Earlier endeavours to start a coffee industry came to nothing. A certain amount of houshold industry and wood-carving is carried on, but the market for this is inconsiderable.

Industrialisation would be the only chance. Unfortunately, there are no raw materials on the spot, and the area is remote from its potential markets. The Japanese attempted to introduce a textile industry, but failed.

The cult of the dead involves huge banquets and much slaughtering of livestock, which is a very serious waste of capital. The slaughtering is not purely a matter of duty: it also confers a right to a portion of the inheritance, those who contribute most being entitled to the largest share. In order to be able to buy the cattle, the people frequently incur considerable debts beforehand. Paddy-fields are often farmed out for ready cash.

In addition to the economic factors, there are the social ones. The position is still further complicated by the development of education. After the First World War, the Mission began to introduce an extended school system: there are at present in this area some sixty preparatory schools, a number of middle schools and three high schools, which is a very large establishment in comparison with the areas round about. The Toradjas make great sacrifices to enable their children to go to school. The openings afterwards are, however, limited. The idea of working in the paddy-fields is now for the most part distasteful; clerking and copying jobs are the only intellectual posts going, and those in very small numbers; teachers, when they belong to an educators' association, frequently get themselves transferred to areas where they are more needed.

The only possibility left is to move to Makassar to seek employment in a business firm or government office, or to gain further education. It is not easy to be definite about the total scale of migration. There is no question of proletarianisation: the bond between man and man is still too powerful. If somebody is temporarily out of a job, his friends or acquaintances will always take him in. This solidarity is to a great extent the result of antagonism to other groups, mainly the Buginese. Furthermore, the Toradja, whether a Christian or an adherent of his own indigenous faith, finds himself arriving in a Muslim environment. Accordingly, the Christians form a close group with their church as the linking element.

Most of the Toradjas arriving in Makassar are domestic servants. They also find work in offices and in household industries, the latter mainly with the Chinese. 80-90% of the labour employed by shoemakers, rattan craftsmen and woodworkers is Toradja. This tendency is the more pronounced inasmuch as there are practically no big factories in Makassar as yet.

Many of the newcomers are not, however, permanent migrants: once they have earned enough, they go home to their birthplace to redeem their pawned paddy-fields, or marry, or otherwise put their savings to some use.

These two examples taken one from the point of view of the town and the other from that of the surrounding countryside, enable us to form a picture of the scale on which urbanisation is taking place and the reasons behind it. It will be necessary to go into the matter in somewhat greater detail in order to arrive at definite conclusions.

II. Problems in the rural areas

As I mentioned in dealing with Djakarta, one of the main factors serving to encourage urbanisation is to be found in the economic field.

There is no need to furnish the figures for the over-population and land hunger prevailing all over Java: they will be taken as read. It is, however, obvious that the drift from the village to the towns now in progress will continue, unless something is done to stop it.

Indonesia has one of the lowest national incomes per head per annum in the world. The problem is to improve the standard of living for these eighty million people, who are increasing by a further million every year. The question is all the more urgent when we consider that over large areas it is no longer possible to extend the cultivable land.

There are various ways of approaching the problem.

In India endeavours are being made to check the rocketing birth-rate by encouraging "planned parenthood". The results are not very considerable, but the problem of the family has at any rate been given attention, as part of the Government's plan for the improvement of the standard of living.

"Transmigration" is a method employed in Indonesia to divert the surplus population of Java to the other islands. This, however, requires careful preparation and capable management; in the first place, it involves considerable expense and no expectation of profit, and in addition serious objections are frequently raised by the transmigrants themselves on social grounds.

Industrialisation calls primarily for capital. The Indonesians themselves have no capital resources to speak of, so for the time being the capital would need to come from elsewhere. But for such capital to be brought into Indonesia, the terms and prospects would need to be of a kind to attract the capitalist. Moreover, industrialisation demands a large number of experts and skilled workers, both at the higher and at the lower levels.

But none of these solutions can ever succeed unless we turn our attention to the structure of Indonesian society. The two points primarily arising in this connection are the family with its place in society, and the economic and social life of the village. We cannot, of course, deal with them in detail here, but a few remarks may be of value.

1. The family

It is not, of course, possible to speak of "the" Indonesian family: the variations are much too great. Nevertheless, there are a number of features in common.

a) In many areas of Indonesia the family includes not only the parents and children, but grandparents and other relatives. In addition to the duty of caring for one's parents, it is also a duty to take on cousins, nephews and nieces.

b) Families in the Western world have a strongly individual character often quite lacking in the East, and accordingly in Indonesia. Anyone who works hard for his family and earns more than the average is usually surrounded by droves of relatives wishing to benefit by his additional exertions, so that only a small proportion finally accrues to himself and his wife and children. This is scarcely an encouragement to work hard.

c) Accordingly, people take little trouble to save or put aside money for their old age. If they grow old and needy, they can always count on help from their children and relatives. The fact that so little is saved has a good deal to do with the scarcity of capital in Indonesia, and is a serious impediment to industrialisation.

2. The village

Every villager feels himself to be part of the village entity. Accordingly, they all share in the great moments of one another's lives - birth, circumcision, marriage, death. And likewise they give one another a share in whatever they can spare: those in want can always rely on assistance from the rest, and nobody need starve to death so long as there is anything left.

Villagers do not need much: in other words, requirements are limited, and are mostly of a social character.

Nor is there any effort to make profits or accumulate capital by sustained effort. The people have to work to satisfy their limited requirements, and indeed to live, but that is all. It often occurs that when prices rise production falls, because they do not need so much as before.

All economic activities, the earning of money and the making of profits, have to be visualised in the context of social activities. Respect in the village, and in society generally, is rated higher than wealth alone. It is not property that is the important thing, but the lavish use of property at village feasts, weddings and so on.

Approximately 70% of the Indonesian population is employed on agriculture. One-fourth of this figure, however, represents concealed unemployment: the people concerned are, by tradition, supported by the better-off members of the community, in return for small services in tillage and harvesting. Thus many more people are employed on agriculture than is economically justified, and the extra money belonging to the wealthier among them is not saved but distributed to the poorer. Or, where there is some effort to save money, the proceeds are not invested in a business or similar venture, but hoarded, or else spent on ornaments.

The striving to gain social respect claims a large part of the villager's money. Often he keeps nothing at all for unforeseen expenses, and is consequently obliged to sell his land on disadvantageous terms, or borrow at a high rate of interest.

As regards labour relations, it is safe to say that Western organised firms are purely impersonal. The employees work under contract for a definite wage, and human relations are not, for the most part, very important. In the village community this impersonal relationship is unknown. There are no contracts: all work done for others is still in the nature of a good turn to a friend, with no stress on the wage paid. The difference between employer and employed is very small, and the basic principle is mutual assistance (gotong-rojong).

Although this solidarity contains certain admirable elements, there are a number of objections to it from the economic point of view.

Firstly, less work is done. There is no direct incentive to increase performance or to work more efficiently: you cannot shout at somebody who has come along to oblige you, and tell him to get on with the job or take more care over it.

Secondly, there is no division of labour or specialisation. The peasant farmer is a jack-of-all-trades: he can plant his paddy-fields, construct irrigation ditches, build houses, make tools. Unfortunately, however, this means there are no skilled workers, while the methods used are out of date, as the villager works along purely traditional lines.

Finally, there is no calculation of costs and profits, so that trading for money is only very gradually becoming current practice in the villages. Only when money is the standard of value is it possible to get the population to produce more for the sake of extra money. This is especially true where new economic requirements are emerging as a result of contact with other towns and villages. Unless these requirements become general, it is more than likely that when prices go up and people earn more, so far from producing more they will produce less, because the proceeds remain the same.

Thus nothing will be achieved by preserving the present village system, nor should we be helping the villagers by doing so. What is required is a properly-planned change in the system, bringing the villages out of their isolation in order to develop the forces and possibilities latent within them. This will be a most difficult social task. But the problem of social education has got to be taken in hand if the rural areas are not to disintegrate still further as a result of the present process of urbanisation. The country people will have to be prepared for these new developments, provided with new openings aside from agriculture, linked up with other villages and areas.

A vital part can be played in all this by the cooperative, as a new social organisation with a more impersonal impact, forming the transition from the old village community to the new village, the administrative subdivision of the district, which, along with the other villages is making its contribution towards the building-up of the Indonesian economy.

III. Problems in the urban areas

Here too we must beware of generalising. As was shown by the examples of Djakarta and Makassar, every town has different problems, most of them depending on the surrounding countryside.

In the cities of Indonesia and other Far Eastern countries, the influence of Western and outside activity in an Eastern environment is very plain to see. The contrast is often referred to as "a capitalist society in the middle of a pre-capitalist one".

"Pre-capitalist" means a society in which the population is organised in communal villages, or other social units such as tribes, with a self-supplying economy (i.e. not based on the profit or export motive). Such a society has, consequently, very little trade, industry or artisan activity. Moreover, this type of economic development is closely bound up with the general outlook and social organisation of the people.

In the capitalist society, people no longer work to meet their own requirements: they work to make as big a profit as possible. Every worker has a wage and a contract. Work is not based, as it once was, on gotong-rojong: the relation between one man and another is purely impersonal. The general outlook becomes an individualist one: it is everyone for himself and his family. Thus human relations, and consequently the social system, are undergoing a tremendous change. Trade unionism, the cooperative, and all kinds of other organisations are replacing the old society, and also often taking over some of the functions that used to be performed by the family.

Along with the development in industry and trade, we find, even quite early in the twentieth century, an enormous expansion of the towns, and more particularly of the big cities.

What are the main features of life in a town?

1. In the town, money is extremely important. In the villages, the amount of money in circulation is still very small - in practice, only as much as is needed to pay taxes and debts and buy a few commodities that are not available in the village. The town is a big source of financial income as a result of its industry and trade.

2. There is a constant stream of country workers moving back and forth to town, attracted by this circumstance. Many of them eventually settle there for good.

3. In the town, people are dependent on wages and profits, i.e. on labour and custom, rather than on self-produced goods and mutual aid.

4. Whereas in the village each individual has, by tradition, his fixed place in the social scale, in the town he has to get his place and fight to keep it.

5. Consequently, newcomers from the country have to adjust themselves to a totally new environment. They have to become more individualist if they are to keep their place in society , and this has its effect not only on their work but on their families, their moral standards, and in fact their whole lives.

6. In the town very widely-varying types of people are brought in contact with one another: the old habits and traditions, the old moral code, the whole way of life emanating from the existing law of custom and usage, all has to go by the board - a very considerable dislocation.

In consequence of outside influence and the infiltration of the Western economy, there has suddenly arisen a great need for money, even in the country. Taxes have to be paid in cash: given the modern administrative machine, it is impossible to collect them in kind. To pay their debts, the people need money. And to get things like paraffin, matches or salt - money again, money from outside the village.

Because villagers prefer to stay as long as they can in their own village, the first stage is for them to go in and out of the nearest town, by bus, train or bicycle, or on foot. If they live at some considerable distance, they go when the ploughing, or the sowing, or the harvest is over, and come home in the rush seasons.

They are mainly unskilled workers who earn a low wage. They are a big problem in the towns they move to, particularly as regards accommodation. They live for the most part in the most miserable conditions, in railway trucks, gedek (plaited bamboo) huts, empty godowns and the like.

There are a number of other, less important factors contributing to this drift to the towns, e.g. the luxury and amusement in the town, flight from trouble in the village, education for the children, a transfer or job requiring further training obtainable only in the town, the need for servants in the town. The latter mainly affects the women, but the percentage of women moving into the towns is not very much higher, unless there is also a demand for women workers in industry.

What does stand out, on the other hand, is the considerable surplus of young men. Since they often intend to settle in the town only temporarily, they go alone and leave their families behind, returning later with their earnings. (This point was also noted on an earlier page in connection with Makassar.) Young children and parents go comparatively little into the towns. In the long run, this state of affairs changes: the workers settle permanently in the town and send for their families to join them, or, as the case may be, marry there.

Obviously the large-scale flight to the towns is giving rise to tremendous problems.

1. Bad and inadequate housing is often the cause of all kinds of social abuses. The whole business of life takes place out of doors; squabbles go on in the cramped space of the street in front of the whole neighbourhood.

The position was already serious enough before the war, but as practically no building was done during and after it, things are now almost intolerable. Again, owing to the war and the troubles up-country, large numbers of people sought temporary refuge in the towns, thus making matters worse. The number of houses in Djakarta will have to be doubled if everybody is to be able to live at all reasonably. What is more, the materials used will have to be changed, so that five hundred or a thousand houses are not lost every time a supporting beam falls, as frequently happens today.

The problem is a very difficult one indeed when we remember that workers' housing is not a very paying proposition anywhere. It is all very well for the Government to build a number of houses, but that is a drop in the ocean: it is certainly not in a position to build on any very considerable scale at the present time. And no private builder will build houses that are not going

to yield him a profit. The people have to build their houses themselves: that is quite all right in the village, where they generally have the material to hand and are accustomed to their gotong-rojong, but in the town there is neither the one nor the other. So you get squatting on a big scale, in houses which do not meet the lowest requirements: they are built too close together, they are overcrowded, there is no room to live, sanitary installations are practically non-existent.

2. The latter is no problem in the country. But in the town the absence of sewerage and refuse-disposal arrangements breeds all sorts of diseases, and the infected ground is a danger to children. In the early stages, too, the death-rate is far higher in the town than in the country: only as time goes on does it begin to decline.

3. The difference between rich and poor does exist in the village, but it never takes such acute forms, because everybody is allowed to take as big a share as possible of the income of the village. In the town, on the other hand, it is everyone for himself. The difference between the rich and the poor quarters stands out sharply: in Léopoldville, in the Belgian Congo, the European quarters had 1,300 people to the square kilometer, and the African quarters 15,000. And when it is mostly unskilled workers who come in from the country, we need hardly ask which part of the town they are to live in.

4. The fact that large numbers of young men without families move into the towns and live in unsatisfactory accommodation combines with industrial development to aggravate the disintegration of the household and family.

5. Since the unskilled worker's wage is far below the minimum required to keep a family more or less reasonably, the womenfolk have to help by going out to work. Further dissolution of the family.

6. Children in the village have their own duties - herding cattle, doing little jobs about the house and on the land. They also have tasks to perform in the religious life of the community. In the town there is nothing of that: there is barely room in which to play, they have no duties in the home and spend the whole of their free time in the street, their fathers and mothers are often away the whole day. Consequently, they get into mischief all the time.

7. Life in the town often has a bad effect on moral standards. People have enough to eat in the village, but not by any means always in the town. Consequently there is a great deal of theft and similar crime against property. Control by public opinion, which is a powerful force in the village, is unknown. Irregular cohabitation and the break-up of families do a lot of harm, and make it difficult to bring up children properly.

8. Economically, the difficulties are almost insuperable. In the town houses are rented; in the village practically everyone has his own house, even though it may be on somebody else's property. The rent is collected monthly, and the new arrivals are not used to regular collection of money. Credit is on a totally different basis: in the village everyone knows everyone else and is willing to be patient, but in the town the supplier does not know his customers and very quickly stops allowing credit, or only allows it in the first place if he knows his customer has a regular income above a certain minimum.

Hire-purchase is much less prevalent in the village; in the town, on the other hand, you can get practically anything on hire-purchase. But here again the migrants are not used to paying instalments regularly, and in a few months' time the radio or bicycle or whatever it may be is impounded for failure to pay.

Life in the town thus involves a totally different attitude to money and payments, and since the newcomers are not accustomed to it they often find themselves in trouble and are quickly reduced to destitution and every imaginable misery.

Although industrialisation in Indonesia is still confined to a few large cities, it is already necessary to consider what the outcome is likely to be.

First of all, the disintegration of the family will go further. People no longer work together as a family concern: each individual works at his own factory or office. Consequently, there is comparatively little community of interests or sympathies. Working hours also vary, so that each member eats and works when and as it suits him, and the meal is no longer a function at which the whole family meets and acts as one. This will be still more serious if it becomes necessary to work on shift at the factory, so that some are on day work and some on night.

As the younger ones are better suited for extra training than their elders, it will not be long before children are earning more than their fathers. This has a serious effect on the balance of authority within the family. The old patriarchal relation is practically destroyed, and whereas formerly each member handed over what he earned to the communal unit (family, village, etc.), now he keeps a varying proportion for his own purposes and demands to have a say in the disposal of the communal income.

Free time, again, was no problem in the village. The people used to meet at the end of the day for a chat, they celebrated their feasts together, they gave a hand with the work that had to be done to keep the village community going. In the town all this is different. There are fixed working hours, and a fixed number of free days. There is practically no opportunity of doing anything in the home or supplying one's own requirements, so people have to entertain themselves outside. At best, each member of the family joins a society or a club - though even this makes for a further dissocation of interests. But it is more likely that they will seek entertainment at the cinema and so on, not to speak of the undesirable types of enjoyment offered by gambling-dens and brothels. With housing in its present state, it is inevitable that they should turn elsewhere. And when the mother as well as the father has to go out to work, in order to increase the income, then obviously the whole of the bond which the family represents has gone.

The factory, office, business and other places of employment also contribute to this further disintegration. The old relation of authority, based on tradition, which prevailed in the village, is replaced by an impersonal relation based on performance, on contracts which have to be kept, and on individual industry. The employee is called upon to work with people from entirely different areas, with entirely different customs, which require a very considerable effort of adjustment. The environment, the pace of the work, the division of labour, the limited responsibility in relation to the whole, the totally unaccustomed discipline, all this is bound to bring about a revolution in the life and thought of the worker.

And in the town the antithesis between the haves and the havenots is getting more acute all the time. In the village rich and poor were bound by a common objective, but in the town they clash with one another. Whereas in the country the people still accept poverty and hunger as takdir (fate, the will of God) in the town there is more and more vigorous opposition to this inequitable distribution of prosperity.

For first of all the town fosters the process of individualisation, and then the individuals thus released set out in search of a new integration, and find it in the trade unions, and to a lesser extent in the cooperatives. It is the unions and the cooperatives that are becoming the new instruments of power, with which people seek to achieve their objectives. And it is they that are coming to be the bodies people join when they feel the need to belong to a larger whole. The trade union is taking over a good many of the functions of the old village community. It wants to guarantee the worker a proper subsistence level; it is going to look after his recreations, organize the younger generation, start holiday homes, and so on and so forth. There is even the danger that the union will come to be regarded as a new religious community responsible for the salvation of mankind. This is a development to be reckoned with - not least in the preaching of the Gospel. Town workers cannot nowadays be contacted through the family: the approach has to be made through the factory, or the union, or whatever other body they may belong to.

We have confined ourselves to listing a few of the major possibilities. In brief, it will be necessary to reckon on full-scale industrialisation and urbanisation, accompanied by a further disintegration of the old communal way of life.

IV. The task of the Church and the Christian community in face of these problem

In studying our duty as Christians in this general context, we have to keep two things clearly in mind.

Firstly, we must strengthen our own Christian community. That is to say, we must get people to realize the problems involved, arouse them to a sense of responsibility for those problems, and work together to find the answer. Because we have so much in common, we shall often find ourselves obliged to act together as Christians, to join together for the achieving of our objectives.

Secondly, we must never forget that the only object in thus strengthening the Christian community is for us to bear witness more forcibly to Jesus Christ and His work of salvation in the world. Accordingly, we must always remember that we have to associate our fellowmen - whether neighbours or members of the same body as ourselves, with the work we are doing. Or, to put it the other way round, we must link up as much as we possibly can with non-Christians, to study and tackle these problems, armed with the knowledge and conviction which come to us through our awareness of solidarity as Christians.

What then can we do?

In the first place, it is essential that we should know something about ourselves - that is, about our churches and our Christian community: where the Christians live, what their activities are, what contact they have with non-Christians, and so on. I propose to list a few elementary questions which may serve as a basis for such inquiries.

1. How many members has your church community? The number in itself does not tell us much, but if we compare it with the number of non-Christians in the same district, then we get at least an idea of the influence wielded by the churches in their particular area. The Javanese churches in Central Java have a membership of 26,000 souls, and all the Protestant churches in Central Java together something like 50,000. This in the midst of a population of nineteen or twenty million who have a different religion, or no religion at all.

2. Where are these Christians to be found? The Javanese Christians are divided into 100 parishes and 200 smaller "circles" right across Central Java. In Eastern Java you come across a few additional Christian colonies; in Tapanuli and Batakland we might even speak of a people's church.

3. How large are the parishes? In Central Java there are city parishes of as many as 2,000 members (e.g. Jokja), but there are also numerous tiny ones of only 50-100. These figures of course include a number of children and women with no income of their own. This is therefore an indication as to the financial capacity of the parish, and the smallness of their numbers is also an indication as to their influence on their surroundings.

4. What is the distribution between town and country? Are there any churches with all their members in the country, or all in the town? Are there both kinds? What is the ratio of the one to the other?

5. What is the proportion between adult men and women? In a place such as Purworedjo there were twice as many women as men. This particular circumstance was due to the large number of widows, and to the presence of a hospital with a considerable staff of nurses. In the Chinese churches in Central Java, however, we have the same thing throughout - twice as many adult women as adult men. These points are most important for the working-out of a strategical approach in Pekabaran Indjil.

6. As regards the expansion of the churches, it is important to know the proportion of parents and children. Usually the only figures are for baptized and communicant members, but at least this gives some indication. It is necessary to examine the proportion as found in the town and in the country, and for each parish separately: we are then able to see whether the middle group between 20 and 50 years of age is leaving, and so ascertain the extent of the decline in the country parishes.

7. What is the occupation of the church members? In Central Java they are teachers, nurses and civil servants in the town parishes, and for the most part smallholders and agricultural labourers in the village. There are practically no members in the sector of trade, industry, handicrafts and technics. This is a comment on the capital resources of the parishes, the presence of their leaders in the work of social and economic construction, and the extent to which the Gospel has penetrated that field, and yet if it is to penetrate, it must call upon church members actually employed in the sector in question.

8. What is the position as regards change of residence? We know how many people arrive and depart, but usually we do not know where they go or why. And only when we do know can we examine the extent to which the parishes are being affected by urbanisation and the areas in which they are so affected.

The list could go on indefinitely. What is the state of the church's finances (budget, collections, special objectives such as the building of churches, etc.)? What is known concerning Christian organisations in the social field? What about the youth groups, the women's societies, the cooperatives, the political bodies? What are they doing, what is their influence on their members and on the world around them? What is the churches' milieu, what is their social and economic background? For it has to be borne in mind that facts and figures are of value only inasmuch as we compare them with the situation in the district round about, and with the situation in Indonesia as a whole.

Conclusion

If we are to perform our duties as a church and a Christian community, both to ourselves and to others, it is essential that we should have an adequate sociological knowledge of both our church and our community. In the interests of such knowledge, the following measures are worth recommending:

a) the people who are called upon to take the lead in church and social affairs should be got to take an interest in these problems;

b) when their interest has been aroused, a few simple inquiries may be made, to serve as a basis for a survey of the situation in the Indonesian churches;

c) if this is found to be necessary in the long run, a special appointment could be made, either from the D.G.I. (National Council of Churches) or from some outside body, of someone to be responsible for study and research work in this field. The duties could be performed in the early stages by teachers socially and economically in line with P.T.P.G.(the Academic Training School for Christian Teachers), now in process of formation.

Secondly, we have to consider the potentialities of the countryside. As was shown in section II, economic development in the country is very much impeded by social factors, and by the present social set-up in the village.

It will, however, be necessary to consider seriously just what requires to be changed: we cannot afford to judge solely on economic grounds. We must first of all be clear as to the actual function of the family at the present time, both within itself - its composition, way of life, capacity for keeping going - and in relation to the community outside, both in the town and in the country. Then, when we know the facts, we have to see whether they stand the test of the Word of God. Taking that as a basis, we can note what shortcomings are present, and make a start on the renewal of family life. For this purpose, it is necessary to study both the social and the economic elements.

Suggestion

As part of the follow-up to the East Asia Christian Family Life Seminar Conference held in Manila in 1954, regional conferences were organized in Indonesia to deal with the task of the Christian family.

This problem, taken in conjunction with the problem of urbanisation and industrialisation, is being discussed from the angle of social organisation in the village and in the town.

If the programmes for these conferences become overloaded, it should be possible to plan a series of three conferences over a period of two to three years, at which these problems can be considered as a whole.

One point of departure might be the Report of the Manila Conference, entitled The Christian Family in Changing East Asia, by R.B. Manikam and Irma Highbaugh.

At the same time, we must seek to work out a solution to the problem of the drift from the village to the towns. As indicated in section I, the first stage in industrialisation is best carried through in the country. The great thing is, then, the transformation of the country. It is essential that this should be carried out in such a way that the village is assigned a real part to play in the work of building up the economy of Indonesia, and at the same time the flight to the towns is checked. This means providing new means of making a living as well as agriculture, i.e. artisan industries and commerce.

There are two main difficulties, the shortage of skilled labour and the shortage of capital for the establishment of business ventures.

The lack of capital can to some extent be remedied by setting up credit cooperatives. These bodies save money, and subsequently lend it out again at interest. Part of the annual profit is reserved as capital for the cooperative. If we arrange over a period of time to amalgamate a number of cooperatives within a particular province to form a banking cooperative, we can then gradually build up a central bank which can help to finance larger projects.

In the establishment of cooperatives, it must be borne in mind that it is not only the Christians who are to benefit: the project must be carried out as far as possible in collaboration with non-Christians. Where Christians are already members of their local cooperative, they must on no account withdraw to reorganize a special Christian one. It is preferable that they should start a new scheme with their fellow-villagers - stockbreeding, joint selling of agricultural produce, or a small industrial concern.

In some areas it will be found more useful to institute a producer cooperative for the joint selling of rice or of goods produced by a number of similar small enterprises, or alternatively a buyer cooperative for the joint use of agricultural or other machinery. Schemes of this kind will have to be settled according to local requirements. It is important first of all to associate as many members of the community as possible with the venture, both those who can contribute a fair amount and those who have not so much to give. The younger generation too can be got to take an interest, by being encouraged at school to save all they can. Secondly, it is important that this work of building up the economy should claim not only people's money but their whole physical and mental capacity.

As regards the other problem, the training of skilled labour, the village will need to have courses at which the younger people can train as, for instance, carpenters, smiths, bricklayers or shoemakers. Courses must be organised actually in the village, in order that the trainees are not left stranded in the town afterwards. When they have completed their training, they should be set to work in some concern, in groups of five, under the supervision of an older person. This whole programme will, however, need to be backed by an organisation with properly-planned arrangements for production, marketing, transport, financing and administration. Suitable youth can be brought into the scheme by S.M.E.P., S.M.E.A. (Economic Schools).

One result of such work is that new occupations are created in addition to agriculture. Again, trained workers are produced - an essential element in any development of industry. The country is provided with opportunities for specialisation and the acquiring of proficiency in a trade. Such courses involve additional posts of an administrative and commercial nature, which means that more people are able to continue living in the country. And we Christians are thereby able to make a real and positive contribution towards the work of building up the economy of the area and the State.

It is not possible in this paper to give a detailed account of the way in which a cooperative is built up. A proper grasp of the process is, however, necessary in order to be clear as to the form of cooperative desired and the subdivision of labour to be encouraged in any given area.

Suggestion

In response to the problem of the drift to the towns, D.G.I. (National Christian Council) or some other body should issue a handbook for the constitution of a cooperative and the encouragement of training courses in the country districts.

After a careful study of the conditions involved, a plan should be drawn up for the establishment in each local parish of either a cooperative, an industry or an economic scheme of some kind. The main point is thus the provision of capital, which can be used over again for the establishment of new industries or the expansion of existing ones.

D.G.I.'s(National Christian Council) Education Section is devoting special attention to the problem of training courses in the country, not only for boys but for girls as well. It may be possible to arrange that, when the facts and figures have been studied, a trial scheme of a village training course is recommended specially for each district, as an example to be copied.

Information on the building up of the rural economy will be found in a booklet to be published shortly by B.P.K., entitled Pembangunan Sosial-Ekonomis Djemaat2 Kita (Community Social and Economic Reconstruction).

In the meantime, the process of urbanisation cannot be stopped; it will go through to the end, and we have got to face it.

This involves a tremendous responsibility for the Church. There will need to be close cooperation as regards furnishing of testimonials, and the church authorities concerned will have to find out exactly where a particular person is bound for, and notify the parish at the other end as quickly as possible. Obviously, it is not difficult for anybody to disappear in a big town. But a great deal can be achieved by careful coordination.

Within the parish, it will be necessary to adopt the system of establishing districts. It is natural enough that a church council in a parish of over 2,000 people should no longer have adequate information as to the lives of its members. Moreover, something will have to be done in the towns to create a new form of community to replace to some extent the old village community. This will make it possible to give new arrivals a suitable reception. It will also be necessary to make contact with neighbours to discuss problems of common interest.

It is easier to expatiate on the subject than to take practical action. But it is essential that further contact should be established. Where this cannot be done by the community of the district, we shall have to approach people at their work, as it is vitally necessary that the Church know where its members are employed. The Christians should form cells in the firms and factories, both to help one another and, more particularly, to help non-Christians. For where words are inadequate Christian acts can open up new possibilities.

The trade unions will inevitably continue to play an important part in the life of the towns, so it is necessary that we should know what is going on in that sector also. Only when we have contacted the worker at his job and in his union, and endeavoured to help him there, will it be possible to seek on that basis to rebuild the now disintegrating family unit. The Church and the Church alone can bring the message of eternal salvation in Christ. It cannot delegate that duty to any union or group. And to deliver its message it has to go out into the highways and byways, and hence also into the factories and organisations of the city.

As a beginning, the following action should be taken:

1. A liaison body to be formed by those directly or indirectly concerned with such factories and union organisations.

2. This body to assemble information as to the concrete situation regarding social legislation, trade unions and industrial relations.

3. An examination then to be made of existing possibilities for action in the present type of union, and of the opportunities for transferring to a special Christian union.

4. Whatever line of action is ultimately adopted, it is essential to work out what the message of the Gospel in the social field really is. This concept of Christianity as a social force must be propagated to the utmost.

5. The study of this point could link up with item 3 of the Conference on the Christian Family in Changing East Asia.

One very pertinent question is the true object of all these conferences. There is an undoubted danger that they will issue merely in theoretical debates, and put out a few general conclusions which do not really contain any points of value, and consequently cannot be implemented.

As we are, however, still only in the very early stages of our examination of these social and economic problems, a conference seems the most suitable method as a practical introduction to this field. If several regional conferences are held throughout Indonesia, it is of no great moment if there are only twenty or thirty delegates at each. But if this is so, then the conferences must be not an end in themselves, but a beginning.

Another point is the training of skeleton staffs for three or four localities in each area, by people who have themselves actually attended the appropriate conference and volunteer for the job after studying the problems very carefully.